2: Métraux

SF24 Uru SF24

262, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

Carangas--
Chipaya

/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion. Brandishing his

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to prefer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

2nd Trans--60 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24
Cavanga:-
Chipaya

/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the uya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the uya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araspe$^{?}$a	oubi,	ouma	tiempo	apanta$^{?}$a.	waima
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me.	good
mara,	ouma	mara,	araspe$^{?}$-petruna,		tndou
weather,	good	weather,	sky	manner,	all
wawatabi.	Lo mismo	Virgin-taika		tumapeuyuwasista,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth		thou feedest me,	
kenpkama	(taki)	wawanakatabi,		tndou	mundu,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,		all	the world,
wawanakatabi	ak$^{?}$ aru	tndou	mundu	pak$^{?}$aki	aka
children of	thou	all	the world	animals	these

2066mmm--62 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas-Chipaya

/346 cont./

signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Cipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in [illegible] and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kopala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 28 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

Carangas-
Chipaya

/358 cont./

Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible. At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

hal'ga	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

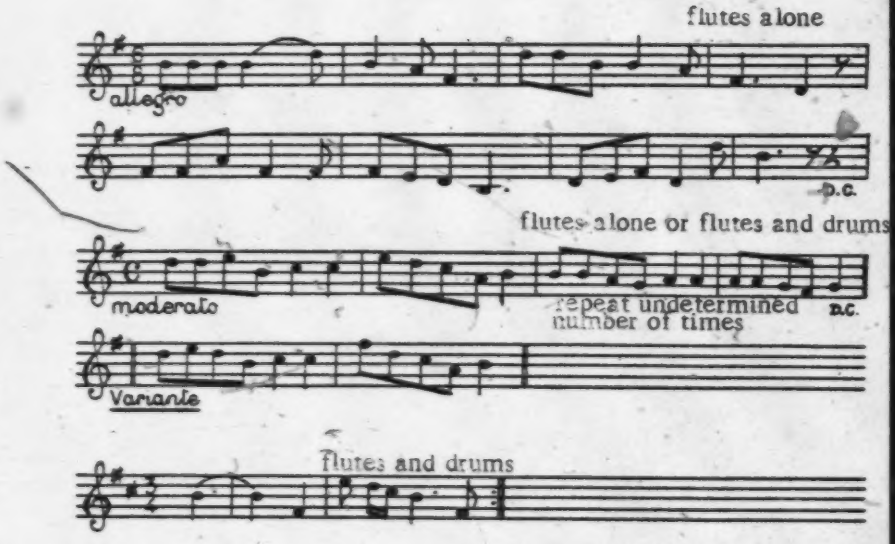
"Demons, receive these pieces."

This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Ha^{s}a-pak^{x}al'a-samiri			samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)			thou wilt stay
kukumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	č^{x}ital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri		patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die		hundred thousand (years?)

Carangas - Chijaya

/361 cont./



*178 *196 [535] Of course the alferez and his wife, furnished with the white banners, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

[296] [303] [596] The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of alcohol, coca, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xal'al'a or xal'al'a alfereza ("Hallelujah alferez"), which some member of the assembly

/381 cont./

[521] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [276] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming * [778] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (tin-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/388 cont./

The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[7] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [055] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

[113]

1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[7] [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [206] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [213] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants [illegible]ard from their laps, then
[262] toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
191

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is
[284] closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

124 in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked [126] the purest of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

[363] A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spa- [191] nish said she was well over a hundred. Had she [165] been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the [126] recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and [876] still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[g. 309 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *auni*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*sulu*, *ñauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinskania* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kiuwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenša*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-